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TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

London, 31. March, 1834.

SIR,

IN the former letters, addressed to you by me, and which were not sent to you in manuscript, as this will be, I informed you that the hopes and the fears of all good men in England were fixed upon you, in your struggle with the voracious and hellish monster of paper-money; hopes, that you would persevere until you had strangled the monster; fears, that, from feelings of compassion for the present sufferers, or from deception practised on you by the myriads of fraudulent deceivers whom the monster has always at his command, you might be induced to hold your hand, and to suffer the infernal monster to recover from the blow which you had already given it.

Amongst all the persons thus divided between their hopes and their fears, there was, perhaps, no man who felt so much anxiety as he who has the honour now to address you; but, sir, while I was in this state of mind, there came into my hands, by mere chance, the *History of your Life*, written by your brother senator and neighbour, JOHN HENRY EATON, and published at PHILADELPHIA in 1824; and, curious to relate, published by Mr. BRADFORD, who published the very first book that ever I sent to the press. Having read this book of Mr. EATON, all my fears were removed. I had here quite evidence enough to prove to me, that, having once formed your determination,

nothing but death would stay the execution of your purpose.

I need not tell you, sir, that our monster will, at the least, be brought upon its knees, by the execution of your determination. Already millions upon millions of dollars have been shipped off from this grand receptacle of the bullion of the world; the United States, instead of being the collector of bullion for England, as heretofore, is now drawing away the bullion from this place of deposit: our prices are already so low, as to spread ruin amongst merchants, amongst farmers, amongst manufacturers, amongst tradesmen, and amongst handicraftsmen of every description. All men who have any knowledge of the subject, know, that if you persevere, one of two things must take place here: a blowing up of the paper-system at once; or, a non-payment in specie; that is to say, a system of *assignats*.

Therefore, the question was, and yet is, *whether you will persevere?* That question is settled with me, by my having read the book of Mr. EATON; and, in order that it may be settled with others also, I, on the 29. instant, sent to the press, the book of Mr. EATON, abridged, in some cases; explained in other cases; corrected, with regard to dates, which, in numerous cases had been omitted; and, Mr. EATON having stopped with your defence of NEW ORLEANS, in 1815, I have continued the "*history*" down to the month of February, 1834. There needs nothing more than this book to convince every man, that the doom of the paper-monster is sealed in America, at least, unless it should please God, in his anger against your country, very speedily to put an end to your life.

In another letter, to be written, probably, to-morrow, and to be sent you in print, unaccompanied by manuscript original, I shall have much more to address to you. I transmit this in manuscript solely for the purpose of giving you this mark of my great respect; and request-

ing you to be pleased to understand clearly, that I can easily perceive the impropriety of your sending me any answer in return. In short, I thus address you with my own pen, as the strongest mark that I have it in my power to give you, of the admiration which I entertain of your character and your conduct, and of the boundless gratitude that I feel for the services which you have rendered to the cause of justice and of freedom; in which sentiments I only participate with millions of the people of this now oppressed, harassed, and distracted kingdom.

I have the honour to be, sir,
your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
THE PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

London, 2. April, 1834.

SIR,

By the first ship that leaves the river, I shall do myself the honour to send you several official documents, which you will find, I am persuaded, worthy of your attention. The poet says:

"Heav'n first taught letters for some wretch's aid,

"Some banished lover, or some captive maid;

"They speed the intercourse from soul to soul,

"And waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole."

Begging pardon of this accomplished philosopher and beautiful poet, I must tell him, that Heaven taught letters for somebody else besides lovers. They are very good for them, to be sure; but they are equally good, at the least, for the unfortunate wretches, who are suffering under the fangs of the paper-money monster. It is very good of them to waft *sighs* certainly, but better to waft execrations, and better still, to waft facts and arguments against the monster of paper-money: very good in them to "waft a lover's sigh from Indus to the Pole"; but a great deal better, to waft my letters (addressed to you) to the

United States, and to cause them to be republished in the newspapers all over the country. It has been promised us, by him who could not err, that, if we work with good intention, and prudently work, our efforts will, first or last, never be thrown away. The official documents which I sent you in the fall of the year, will have shown you into what a turmoil the accursed paper-money had plunged this kingdom. In the present letter, and in the documents which I shall cause to go out as quickly as possible, you will see a great deal more than sufficient to convince you, that we have, at last, arrived at a state in which it is impossible for us long to remain; and that we must come, either to some great change with regard to the public debt, or with regard to the paper-money: every man in the kingdom is satisfied, be he of what party he may, that we cannot proceed much further in our present course. The duration of our present course cannot be long; but that duration will, in some measure, depend upon you.

In order to give you as full a view of our situation, as time and other circumstances will permit me, I will give a hasty sketch of the progress of our paper-money, which, you will please to observe, is the original cause of all the present calamities of this country. I need hardly tell *you*, that the Bank of England, and its paper, were invented for the sole purpose of upholding a foreigner upon the throne; that immediately after its invention, the taxes raised upon the people became ten times as great as they had been before; that, before the American war, it enabled the Government to make wars, wholly unnecessary to the well-being of England; that the American revolutionary war had for its object, the compelling of the people of that country to contribute towards the payment of the interest of the then debt; that the late French war was undertaken to put down those doctrines which had abolished tithes and nobility in France; that the last American war originated in a desire to extirpate the last free institutions; and that neither of these wars could ever have been attempted, without the aid of

paper-money; during these wars our enormous debts were contracted in paper-money; and, an attempt to pay the interest of these debts in gold, which attempt arose out of a conviction (well-founded) that, if we did not return to gold, we must go on to *assignats*, and thus have a revolution complete from the top to the bottom; an attempt to pay these debts in gold, has now plunged us into a scene, the like of which the wildest dreamer could never have expected to see.

There are several things on foot at this moment; each of which contemplates what would be quite worthy of the name of revolution; contemplates a much more important change than was effected at *Old Glorious*, in 1688; but at present I will speak to you only of the revolution that is actually going on, under the auspices of the King's Ministers, with regard to the ESTABLISHED CHURCH. You, sir, will probably exclaim, "Poh! what's the church!" "We think nothing about a church here: our Government and laws recognise no establishment in religion; what, therefore, has the church to do with civil and political Government?" This is, I dare say, very much under-rating your knowledge of the nature of our Government; but it would be perfectly excusable in you, if you did entertain this view of the matter; if you could not conceive it possible that the teachers of religion, excluded, too, by law, from all civil and political functions, and shut out of the House of Commons by law; it would be very excusable, if you were unable to conceive, that even the total extinguishment of all these people, could have any effect upon the stability of the other orders in the state; and, if you were to deem it a sort of madness in any one to predict, that the peers and the King would not long survive the overthrow of the church. A little closer view of the subject, however, would change your opinion as to this matter; and, as I look upon the work of annihilating the church to have actually begun, I will now endeavour to enable you to take that closer view.

You who have all your lifetime seen abundance of bishops and priests and deacons and doctors of divinity and other "reverend" gentlemen; and have seen them of no more consequence than so many carpenters or bricklayers with regard to the political institutions and powers of the country, can have but a faint notion of the power and influence of this body in this country, though you must know, if you were to give yourself the trouble of looking into all the laws connected with this establishment of ours, that there is not the most distant resemblance between the two things; yet your acquaintance with this ecclesiastical establishment must be so imperfect, as for it to be absolutely necessary to explain the matter to you, in order that you may be a judge of our present state.

We have bishops here, and so have you; but ours sit in right of their *see* in the upper House of Parliament. The archbishops take precedence of all other peers, except those of the king's own family, and every bishop takes precedence of a far greater part of the peers. But this is by no means the most material of their rights and their powers. Some of these bishops have means to the amount of fifty thousand pounds a year each; and I believe that their average revenues amount to not less than twenty thousand pounds a year each. Nor is the amount of their revenues the circumstance of the greatest importance: the nature of those revenues is of equal or still greater importance. Were it *so much money given to each*, it would be a different matter. Their revenues consist of palaces, parks, rents of land, quit-rents, fines, heriots, right of timber upon other men's estates; and all the many rights and powers belonging to *lords of manors*. I believe that the Bishop of WINCHESTER is the lord of forty manors in Hampshire and Surrey. He has a palace on a lofty hill, looking over the town of FARNHAM, in Surrey; and looking over a circuit of country, probably thirty or forty miles round. He is the lord over almost the whole of that. The lands are either copyhold or leasehold. There is here and there a little patch of freehold;

he is the lord of all the rest ; and his stewards are the lords under him, to collect the renewals of leases, the fines on death or alienation, the heriots, the timber sales. You will observe that the *game* in this country is a great affair ; and that this bishop is the owner of the game, generally speaking, in all these manors ; and that he can appoint a game-keeper, with a deputation from himself, for every manor. His stewards hold manor-courts, at Michaelmas and Lady-day, in every year. In these courts deaths or alienations are recorded ; and the title to the lands is a copy of the roll of these courts. Then, another part of his revenue is derived from fines even on freehold lands. He has the power, besides, of appointing vicars and rectors to many benefices in his diocese. NORTH, a late bishop of WINCHESTER, gave to his own sons, and other relations, benefices yielding twenty thousand pounds a year.

This, sir, is an English bishop, who may truly be said to be, as far as relates to property, the real overseer of his diocese. There are *twenty-six* of these in England and Wales. JAMES the First used to say, "*No bishop, no king*"; and I believe you will be satisfied, that that dunder-headed old fellow was not far from being right.

Next come the "DEANS AND CHAPTERS." In every diocese there is a cathedral church ; and to each of these churches is attached a body of men, called the "DEAN AND CHAPTER." The chapter consists of prebendaries, or canons ; and they have underlings called *precentors*, and singing boys, and God knows what besides. These things were of great use in Catholic times, drawing the country people together on market-days, on fair-days, on Sundays, to bend at the performance of mass in so grand and imposing a style, as to leave an impression on their minds for the remainder of their life. All this is now gone and forgotten ; all is become a mere sinecure ; but the property and the power remain. These Deans and Chapters are the lords of manors ; the owners of estates : they have rents, fines, quit-rents, heriots, stewards, game-keepers,

and every thing else as in the case of the bishop. They, too, are patrons of livings in the church ; and you will please to observe, that there are twenty-six of these bodies, each consisting of from twenty to forty in number, and, if you will look at the cities which give the names to the sees of bishops, and which have cathedrals, you will see how judiciously they have been spread over the country.

The UNIVERSITIES and COLLEGES come next. These were formed, as you well know, a great while ago, and chiefly by Catholics. These alone can give degrees, such as doctor, master of arts, and the like ; and before a degree can be taken, the party taking it must subscribe to the articles of the established church ; consequently, no man can be master of a college, a fellow of a college, or fill any post of honour or emolument in the college, unless he be of the church. But it is the solid pudding in this case as well as the others ; the pudding, and the power which the pudding gives. When a college was founded, it was *endowed* ; and the endowment consisted of lands and tenements, of lordships and manors, of right of presenting to livings in the church ; and, in short, of every thing mentioned in the case of the bishops and the deans and chapters.

Next come the great schools of WESTMINSTER, of ETON, and of WINCHESTER. There are others, and very many others, but of inferior note to these. These are, in fact, colleges, and very largely endowed. The owners, in fact, of the property belonging to these, are the masters, the wardens, the fellows, or whatever else they may be called. These also are owners of lands and tenements ; of manors innumerable ; their stewards collect renewals, rents, fines, quit-rents, heriots, indulgencies ; and these men again, who must all be of the church of England, appoint game-keepers on their manors ; and exercise an influence and control round about the country, of which you cannot possibly form an adequate notion.

Lastly come the PARSONS, divided into *rectors*, *vicars*, and *perpetual curates* ; each of whom, when he has once got

his living, has it as his freehold for life; and it is a real freehold, having in it all the attributes of freehold, giving him the right, generally speaking, to take a tenth part of the gross produce of all the lands in his parish; and to take these in kind, or commute them for money, just as he pleases. He has the tenth of every thing, from the wheat-field down to the hen's nest; the tenth lamb, calf, pig, egg, gallon of milk, apple, gooseberry, cabbage. In short, every thing arising out of the land, or arising in any way upon the land; and in towns, they have a tithe upon the houses, and in the country, a tithe upon the profit of mills. Now, sir, imagine a man thus clothed with power; clothed besides with the powers of magistrate, very frequently; clothed besides, with the power of putting his *veto* (*your Bank knows what a veto is!*) on a man's having a license to keep a public-house; on a man's having a license to be a travelling merchant, or pedlar; on a poor man's being able to put his child into a charity-school: see this man, *ex-officio*, the chairman of the vestry of his parish. Imagine a man thus armed with influence and power, having a parsonage house and glebe-land, and having the church and churchyard under his absolute control: imagine him perfectly protected by the law, as well as by traditional custom, while he mounts the pulpit one day in every week, and talks there about just what he pleases, no one daring even to whisper disapprobation of his preaching; imagine a man thus endowed with power, stationed for life in every four square miles, on an average, throughout England, not four miles square; imagine this, and add to this all-pervading influence and power, the mass of influence of the bishops, the deans, the chapters, the universities, colleges, and schools; then consider, that all these livings and benefices and dignities of every description, flow from the king, the nobility, and the gentry; and that the parties in possession are all closely bound up in ties of relationship, or ties of immediate interest, with the nobility and gentry. Look at all this, sir, and you will exclaim, in speaking of this

church, "The gates of hell cannot prevail against it"! No; not the gates of hell; but, as you will soon learn, *the gates of paper-money can!*

This is, surely, the most curious and interesting spectacle ever yet witnessed by the world: that a parcel of *clerks*, as they call themselves, destitute of all learning, except what they find prepared for them in the "*Ready-reckoner*," and in "*King's Interest-tables*"; with no title, no eminence; totally unknown; having for their highest insignia, a pen stuck behind their ear; a parcel of creatures like this, whom forty-four years ago this church considered of no more consequence, than the jackdaws which build their nest in steeples; that this troop of clerks, and without knowing what they were doing, too, should, by the means of little bits of paper, intrinsically worth nothing, have brought this immense mass of power upon its knees, and made it play the hypocrite to the extent of feigning willingness to yield to those preliminary measures which have been begun, and which must go on, until this whole mass of power be totally annihilated; unless there be an instantaneous arresting of the progress, which is a thing that many men hope for, but which very few men expect.

How this deadly instrument, invented by a bishop, at the instigation of the devil; this apparently contemptible instrument; *how* it is, that this hell-invented paper-money can have produced this effect; can have put in peril such a mass of power, which all but blind men must see is the main pillar of the English throne; *how* it has been able to do this, it will remain for me to show in a sequel to the history of the "*PROTESTANT REFORMATION*"; but that the fact is such you may be assured; and, is there any ground for wonder, that the same instrument should have put in peril the existence of your constitution, unsupported by any thing but the mere will of the people, and those people beset with a press bribed by the Bank, and labouring to spread about popular error and delusion in every direction?

From the very establishment of the Bank of the United States, I sent over

my remonstrances on the subject ; those remonstrances produced no effect ; but now, when the monster has half-devoured the industry of the country, surely so sensible a people will listen. PAINE has observed, that a paper-money never yet was extinguished without destroying the Government, which had had the wickedness or the folly to suffer it to become the sole currency of the country. His argument was, that, in getting back to specie, the wrongs, the sufferings, the turmoil, were so great, that they naturally produced a *convulsive revolution*. America will escape this, because you have the millions on your side, and because you have taken care, that those millions shall understand the matter well ; but if you had been a man to relax, to give way, though in the smallest degree, your famous constitution would have become the laughing-stock of the world.

It is making a bank the agent of the Government, and the keeper of the public money, that do the mischief. It then issues paper, and gets an interest for it upon the foundation of the people's own money ; and, finally, it becomes the master of the Government itself, as it long has been of this Government, which can consent to nothing of which it expresses its disapprobation. Thus the nobles, the Ministers, and the House of Commons, are all kept in subjection. Those of them that have sense feel sore at this ; but they dare not resist. I can see no reason why the Treasury itself should not receive the money arising from the taxes, and issue it, without the intervention of any bank at all. Here it cannot be done ; for the Government *is always in arrear to the Bank* ; and if the Bank were to refuse to go on advancing in this way, the Government must come to a stand ; and, therefore, it thus proceeds.

We have a strong instance of the monstrous effects of paper-money in the vote of twenty millions to the West Indians, in order to induce them to liberate their slaves. If we had been compelled to raise the twenty millions, and to pay it down, this monstrous act of folly could not have been committed ;

but here were paper-money mongers in abundance to lend us the twenty millions ; and the paying of the interest is all that we have to provide for. However, here are eight hundred thousand pounds a year, and this is now put forward as an excuse for not taking off that much of taxes. I must beg your permission to stop here, while I make a few remarks on this "great measure of *justice and humanity*," as it is everlastingly called. Nothing was ever more unjust than to compel the suffering people of England to pay this eight hundred thousand pounds a year ; and as to *humanity*, the miserable cant has disgusted all the sensible part of the nation. This measure has been ascribed to three different motives ; *first*, a desire to please the petitioners who petitioned for the abolition of slavery ; *second*, to take this covert method of saving the West India merchants and planters from general bankruptcy ; *third*, to set, from *motives of pure philanthropy*, an example of *humanity*, to be followed by *other nations, and particularly by the UNITED STATES*. As to the *FIRST*, nobody that has witnessed the conduct of this Government can believe it : the petitions came from the swarms of fanatics that inhabit the crack-skull county of York ; and from other bodies of the same description, scattered all over this canting kingdom. As a specimen of these petitions, there was one presented by Mr. FOWELL BUXTON, a London brewer of that famous drink called *porter*, of which I shall only say, that I pray God that you may never need any of it to drink. This petition, he represented as having been signed, quite voluntarily, by TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY - EIGHT THOUSAND ENGLISH WOMEN ! It formed a bundle about the bulk of two Winchester bushels ; and that you may duly estimate the philanthropic disposition of the House, you should know, that there was a *general loud cheering* when the two door-keepers brought forward the goodly lump. Now, please to observe, sir, that in England and Wales, there are twelve millions of people ; and of course, six millions of females ; and,

probably, about three millions of adult females, going down even into the poor-houses and amongst the beggars in the streets, and the gipsies under the hedges, and including blind and bed-ridden old women, and probably, a good half-million of girls of the town. So that here was about an eighth part of all these adults with their names to this one petition. Women's names to the other petitions that had been presented, would make the whole amount to about a million. Judge, you then, of FOWELL Buxton, of this Ministry, and of this cheering House of Commons.

It is insincerity to affect to believe that the Ministers could have been influenced by such petitions. The petitions were laughed at by every sensible man; the petitioners were, in a political point of view, not of half the consequence of an equal number of musquitoes; a parcel of crack-brained dupes, cheated out of their pennies by a set of lazy vagabonds, who go about telling them, that it is good for their souls that they endure hunger and thirst in this world; good for their souls to work three times as hard, and not to live a tenth part so well, as the negroes.

The second motive has more of sense in it; and a great deal more of justice. The West India planters and merchants have been ruined by the measures of the Government in England. First, by the monstrous restrictions on their commerce; and, second, by the change in the value of money made in 1819. Therefore, to advance them the twenty millions was not so unjust; and if the motive had been openly avowed, I do not know that it was liable to any very serious objection. The third motive; and, to speak plain, the desire to create disturbances in the slave states of America, I myself do not ascribe to the Government; but I know it to have been a favourite idea with some other men. I did not like the passage in the King's speech, expressing a hope, that our example as to this matter, would be followed by OTHER COUNTRIES, who still held blacks in a state of slavery. I did not like this, I must confess; but I do not believe that the Ministers were

actuated by this motive; though it is impossible not to see that their measure may do great injury to the United States. At any rate, if such were their motive, you have given them a *Roland* for their *Oliver*; they certainly had a right to abolish negro-slavery, without consulting you, and without regard to consequences affecting you; and you have as clear a right to abolish paper-money, without consulting them, and without regard to the consequences resulting to them and their affairs.

In the meanwhile, however, you should be informed, that there are miscreants going about from town to town, in England, preaching up the necessity of forming combinations and raising subscriptions for the purpose of compelling the United States of America to free their negroes. There is no law here that your ambassador can make to reach these miscreants. Nor, if there were such a law, would it be worth while to resort to it; but the miscreants threaten to go over to the Southern States of America, and there preach up their doctrines; and as I believe they will go; and that there are people here to pay them, for the sole purpose of doing injury to the United States, I think it necessary to warn you of their probable approach. The hope was indulged by many persons here, that that which could not be accomplished by war, would be quietly accomplished by the means of the banks; and it would amuse you to perceive the disappointment which the cowardly monsters feel at your having now again blasted their hopes.

Along with this letter, I send you, sir, the Estimates of the ARMY, NAVY, and ORDNANCE, for this year; I send you also an analysis of the two former; and have only to add, that every penny of the money demanded by these estimates, was voted by the House of Commons, without the smallest hesitation; from which you will judge what benefit we have derived from our famous reform of the Parliament. I send several other official papers, at every page of which you will discover the effects of the infernal paper-money.

I request you to receive these, sir, as

OUR
REPLY

marks of my great respect, and as proofs indubitable, that you are acting the just and wise part. Of what sort the change is to be here, or to what extent it may go, no man living can tell: that it must be a great change every one clearly sees; and, so sure as there is a moon or a sun, so sure there would have been a total revolution in America, if you had not interposed your authority with regard to the Bank.

I shall think it my duty to keep you regularly informed of our proceedings here, and

Sir,

I have the honour to be,
your most humble,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS.

(From the *New York Standard*.)

THIS report was presented on Tuesday. The conclusion of the report and the resolutions accompanying it are published in Wednesday's *Globe*. That paper says: "It is a document of facts, not speculation." The question of right, in regard to the power assumed by the Treasury Department over the deposits, is settled, not merely upon the broad authority reserved in the Bank charter, but upon an uninterrupted chain of precedents, showing by their unbroken tenour, that every administration, since the foundation of the Government, has given the same interpretation to the law in relation to this matter, which has recently been acted upon by Mr. Taney.

The views of the committee against the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, and the restoration of the deposits, are clearly presented. They are decisively followed out by suitable resolutions, which we have no doubt will receive the sanction of a large majority of the immediate representatives of the people, and thus seal the fate of the corrupt colossal tyranny, which has a foot set upon each State in the republic.

The committee give their opinions at large, upon the subject of the state-bank agency in the management of the public finances. They show that reliance on them was part of the long-sighted policy which induced the framers of the constitution to reject the proposition to confer the power, creating corporations, upon Congress, and that it was in fact the resort of the confederacy before, as well as after, the adoption of the constitution. They propose, however, to begin a new era and to throw new safeguards around the public deposits, by specific legislation upon the subject.

To secure the pecuniary interests of the Government yet intrusted to the Bank of the United States, and to ascertain to what extent the abuses have gone, and how far it has contributed to produce the present commercial distress complained of, a full and searching inquiry into its management is proposed.

The report will doubtless be read with intense interest by all classes of our countrymen. The questions it discusses are of vital interest, not only to the present generation, but to unborn millions. The decision of them involves, not merely the fate of the Bank, but the fate of the Government.

We give below, the resolutions and the concluding portion of the report, being all that our limits will enable us to give to-day. It will appear as a whole in the *Globe* in a day or two, and will also be published by us in pamphlet form.

Conclusion of the Report.

It will be seen by the views already taken by the committee, that in their opinion, the deposits have been lawfully removed from the Bank of the United States, and the money now in the Treasury has been legally deposited in the state banks.

In these circumstances it remains to be considered, whether any; and if any, what legislation is necessary in consequence of the change of the deposits.

It is the opinion of the committee that the Bank of the United States ought not to be re-chartered. The constitutional objections to it are, in their judg-

ment, insuperable; and if its charter could be justified by the constitution, recent events have demonstrated that the continued existence of such a vast concentrated money power, must prove dangerous to the freedom and purity of our institutions.

And after the great abuses of which it has been guilty, a re-charter, under any modifications, would be offering the high legislative sanction and approbation of Congress to the various acts of misconduct detailed in this and former reports to Congress. It is impossible that a corporation, which is proved to have used its money to corrupt the press, to influence elections, and control the Government, can ever be selected as the peculiar object of the favour and bounty of the Government. The Bank ought not therefore to be re-chartered on any terms. And as the charter ought not to be renewed, it is manifest that the deposits ought not to be restored to it. For, setting aside the various acts of misconduct, by which the present corporation has justly forfeited the public confidence, it is obvious that the restoration of the deposits to the present Bank, to be removed again in two years, would produce nothing but the most serious evil and distress to the country, without any possible advantage. The restoration of the deposits, and the re-charter of the Bank, are, in the judgment of the committee, inseparably connected together, and neither can with any propriety be adopted without the other.

The question then arises, whether the state banks should be continued as the fiscal agents of the Government.

The committee are satisfied that the state banks are fully competent to perform all the services which the general Government ought to require, in the collection and disbursement of the revenue; and to afford also all the facilities to the internal commerce and exchanges of the country, which have been derived from the Bank of the United States.

The collection and disbursement of the public revenue may be safely placed where the sages who framed the consti-

tution left it. They did not deem a national bank essential, either to the Government they were forming, or to the successful administration of its finances. The opinion has already been expressed, that the state banks are competent to perform all the duties which the Government or the public convenience may require. And there are many circumstances which strongly recommend them to a preference over the Bank of the United States. No one of them can exercise a general control over all the others, and expand and contract the whole currency of the country at its pleasure, to favour the private speculations of individuals, or to increase its own profits. And they can never combine together for political objects, nor hope to gain possession of the Government, and control its operations. The state banks are now firmly interwoven with the institutions of the country. They are generally under the management of citizens as respectable, as trustworthy, as any directors of the Bank of the United States. And it would be unjust, and contrary to the spirit of our institutions, for Congress to sustain a great moneyed power to overawe and oppress them, and to bring ruin upon multitudes of our citizens, whenever cupidity or ambition shall tempt them to exercise their power. The stock of the Bank of the United States has fallen, for the most part, into the hands of the great capitalists of this, and foreign countries, who have but little sympathy for the suffering of our people, when their own sordid and ambitious views make it their interest to inflict it.

If it should be urged as an objection to the state banks, that they cannot afford a general currency, the answer is obvious. If it were necessary to create a paper currency, possessing equal credit with that of the present Bank of the United States, the object can be as well accomplished with the state banks, as with the Bank of the United States. The provision which has made the latter current every where, is the clause in the charter which compels the Government to receive their notes in

payment of all debts due to the public, and a similar provision in favour of the state banks which might be selected as the depositories of the money of the United States, would immediately make their notes equally current, and ensure for them equal confidence in any part of the United States.

But the committee are not prepared to recommend the adoption of such a measure. They are convinced that all which public convenience requires, in this respect will soon be accomplished by arrangements among the banks themselves; and that there ought to be no legislation of Congress for the purpose of establishing a currency of paper.

The main object of legislation should be, to enlarge the basis of specie, on which the paper circulation of the state banks is to depend for support. And the committee are persuaded, that by the adoption of the state banks as the fiscal agents of the general Government, and a judicious course of legislation founded upon it, that a sounder state of the currency than now exists would soon be attained, and the country rescued permanently from the danger of those sudden expansions and contractions of the paper currency which have been constantly succeeding each other, since the Bank of the United States was established, which have brought such severe and extensive evils upon the country. The aid and co-operation of the several states may be relied on, to banish gradually the smaller notes, and introduce in their place silver and gold, for ordinary domestic purposes, and the convenience of travel between distant places. Such a reform is strongly called for by sound policy, and the best interests of the country; and the accomplishment of an object so desirable, may be mainly accelerated by laws passed by Congress, adjusting the standard of value of our coins, and regulating the deposits and collection of the revenue. If gold and silver were brought into common use, and the small notes banished from circulation, payments of small sums would probably be made in specie. The great object is not to diminish the amount of the ordinary

circulating medium, but to give it a broader and firmer foundation on the precious metals.

With these views, the committee are of opinion that the state banks ought to be continued as the depositories of the money of the United States, and that measures ought forthwith to be taken, to regulate by law the manner in which they shall be selected, and to ensure the safety of the public money.

According to the law, as it now stands, the duty of selecting the banks, and of prescribing the securities to be taken, is devolved upon the Secretary of the Treasury, under the supervision of the President. This power has been heretofore exercised by the head of the Treasury Department, and in a manner advantageous to the public, and it is not doubted, if the law should continue unchanged, that it may and will continue to be so exercised by the head of that department—yet it is the opinion of the committee, that discretionary power should never be given, in any case, to any officer of the Government, where it can be regulated and defined by law. They think that it would be more consistent with the principles of our Government, for Congress to regulate by law, the mode of selecting the fiscal agents, the securities proper to be taken, the duties they shall be required to perform, and the terms on which they shall be employed.

In accordance with these views they accordingly report for the consideration of the House, resolutions declaring that the Bank of the United States ought not to be re-chartered, and the state banks ought to continue to be employed as the fiscal agents of the Government, under such regulations as Congress shall prescribe.

Before they close this report, the committee consider it to be their duty to state, that in their judgment, a necessity exists for an immediate examination into the conduct of the Bank, and they proceed to state the grounds which make it absolutely necessary, that a strict and rigorous scrutiny should be instituted. They think such an examination necessary in reference to the se-

curity of the interests which the United States as a stockholder have in the Bank, as well as to correct as far as practicable, the abuses of which it has been guilty, and to prevent it from using its corporate power and money for purposes of corruption and oppression.

Numerous memorials have been referred to the committee, complaining of embarrassments in mercantile transactions, some attributing them to the removal of the deposits, and others chiefly to the subsequent conduct of the Bank of the United States. That serious embarrassments exist in many of the commercial cities, cannot be doubted, and it seems necessary clearly to ascertain the cause before an attempt be made to prescribe the remedy. The powers possessed by the committee are inadequate to that object, and they are unable to do more at present, than to submit the facts which have come to their knowledge, with the course they seem to suggest. That the simple transfer of a sum of money from one bank of deposit to another, could have produced the commercial embarrassments complained of is impossible. The public deposits have not been annihilated; nor have they been transferred from the country; they are still in the country, and in the use of the community.

It is in vain that they look for the cause of embarrassment in the state of our markets, or the operations of trade. Our agricultural productions, and manufactures generally, bear a good price; foreign exchange is at its lowest rate; the balance of trade is decidedly in our favour, and the precious metals are flowing in upon us from South America, Mexico, and Europe. None can doubt the power of the Bank to create embarrassment whenever its managers deem it expedient. In four months, commencing with August last, and ending with November, it called in 9,707,245 dollars of its loans. As the state banks could not commence extending until they began to receive the public deposits in October, and from that till December could not, in their extension, keep pace with the curtailment of the Bank of the United States, it is evident that such

rapid curtailment by the Bank of the United States must have created some sensation in the commerce of the country. But it is easy for the Bank of the United States to produce universal embarrassment, without aggregate curtailment of its accommodations, by calling in rapidly one month, letting out the next, and calling again during the third; while it loans out in one place what it curtails in another, and in this manner, falls upon all the commercial cities in rotation, it may more effectually embarrass trade than by a steady curtailment. When the policy of the Bank is unsteady and capricious, producing a scarcity of money to-day, and an abundance to-morrow, to be succeeded by a greater dearth the next day, it is impossible for merchants to conduct business with safety, and prudent men will restrict or discontinue their operations. The Bank has long enjoyed a large portion of the business of domestic exchange, and whenever it chooses to cut off the supply in any or all directions, embarrassment and difficulty naturally ensue.

There is much reason to suspect that the Bank has been managed, for the last six months, with a view to embarrass the community, as a means of operating on public opinion, and controlling the action of Government.

In the proceedings of the Bank, in relation to domestic exchange, as far as known, are perceived indications of a disposition to use the power it possesses through that branch of its business, for the purpose of producing excitement and distress.

The Government directors inform us, in their memorial, that on the 18. of August last, two weeks before the Treasury Agent returned from his mission to confer with the state banks, and five weeks before the determination of the executive was announced, the Board of Directors adopted a resolution, declaring—

“That the bills of exchange purchased at the Bank, and at all the offices, except the five western offices, shall not have more than ninety days to run. That the five western offices be

instructed to purchase no bills of exchange, except those payable in the Atlantic cities, not having more than ninety days to run, or those which may be received in payment of existing debts to the Bank and the offices, and then not have more than four months to run."

The Government directors inform us, that on a subsequent day, a series of resolutions were adopted for reducing the business of the institution, and *authority given to the committee on the offices to modify them at pleasure*, and although a strenuous effort was made to require them to report such measures as might be directed by them to the board, the *proposition was voted down*.

Thus, in direct violation of the charter, and in defiance of all prudence and propriety, was the whole power of this vast and powerful corporation, to relieve or to oppress, vested in a committee, who are not subject to the responsibility of even making reports to the Board of Directors. A few irresponsible men, issuing secret orders from their private chamber, possess more power to distress the American people, than any department of their Government, or all departments, by an act short of a declaration of war. What the resolves and orders of this potent body have been, we have no means of knowing. The President of the Bank who is *ex-officio* a member of this committee, and undoubtedly directs its operations, is also clothed with unlimited power to set the press in motion for the purpose of promoting the views of the Bank. For months, those presses which are known to have been sustained by enormous loans, and those which have received the most liberal allowances for printing, have been incessantly engaged in an effort to spread alarm and dismay throughout the land. It is impossible not to suspect that *the secret management* of the Bank, and the use of its funds by the President, are in perfect concert with their dependent and devoted presses, all aiming to create a general panic, and produce the same result. That result is the restoration of the deposits and the re-charter of the Bank.

If any thing was wanting to confirm these suspicions, the alleged refusal of this Bank to co-operate with the state banks in their laudable efforts to relieve the existing pressure upon the community, in the larger commercial cities, is sufficient to remove all doubts from the minds of the most incredulous.

It is due to the country that the source of the embarrassments which oppress a portion of its commerce shall be laid bare. Should they appear to spring solely from the management of the Bank, wantonly and wickedly directed to produce them, it may become the duty of Congress to resort to all the means within their constitutional authority to check its career.

If it shall appear that the Bank, by means of its money and the presses under its control, has wilfully and intentionally produced these embarrassments; and if its power has thus been abused, it cannot be endured that for two years longer it shall be suffered wantonly to excite alarm in the country, to direct a pressure first on one point and then on another, enlarge at one place and contract in another, for the purpose of continuing to the end of its existence the evils which, there is too much reason to believe it has already inflicted on the community. If, upon examination, it shall be found that it has been guilty of such offences, its charter cannot be too soon terminated, and a *scire facias* would be imperatively demanded to put an end to its machinations against the peace and interests of the people. The Government owns seven millions of its stock, equal to one-fifth of the whole amount. It is the duty of Congress to see that it be not used to oppress the people and subvert the principles of our Government. Of every hundred thousand dollars spent by the president of the Bank, or distributed to advocates under the name of loans, twenty thousand belong to the people of the United States. That their property may not be wasted, that the cause of their distress may be ascertained, and a remedy applied, and above all, that their own funds, and the money and power of this corporation may not

be employed to subvert the principles of their Government by controlling their elections, the committee deem it necessary that there should be a thorough investigation into the alleged abuses and corruptions of that institution, and particularly into the details of its management for the last six months. To this end, they propose a resolution to invest a committee of the House, with power to make such investigations.

1. Resolved, That the Bank of the United States should not be re-chartered.

2. Resolved, That the public deposits ought not to be restored to the Bank of the United States.

3. Resolved, That the State Banks ought to be continued as the places of deposits of the public money, and that it is expedient for Congress to make further provision by law, prescribing the mode of selection, the securities to be taken, and the manner and terms on which they are to be employed.

4. Resolved, That, for the purpose of ascertaining, as far as practicable, the cause of the commercial embarrassment and distress complained of by numerous citizens of the United States, in sundry memorials which have been presented to Congress at the present session; and of inquiring whether the charter of the Bank of the United States has been violated, and also what corruptions and abuses have existed in its management; whether it has used its corporate power, or money, to control the press, to interfere in politics, or influence elections; and whether it has had any agency, through its management, or money, in producing the existing pressure—a select committee be appointed to inspect the books, and examine into the proceedings of the said Bank, who shall report whether the provisions of the charter have been violated or not; and also, what abuses or malpractices have existed in the management of said Bank; and that the said committee be authorised to send for persons and papers; and to summon and examine witnesses on oath, and to examine into the affairs of the said Bank and branches; and that they are further authorised to visit the principal Bank, or any of its

branches, for the purpose of inspecting the books, correspondence, accounts, and other papers connected with its management or business; and that the said committee be required to report the result of such investigation, together with the evidence they may take, at as early a day as practicable.

STATE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

(From the *Acadian Recorder*, Halifax, N. S.)

LOWER CANADA.—In a late *Recorder* we gave an outline of the celebrated Stanley dispatches which have been received in the province of Lower Canada, and which prove, setting aside all question of their fitness to the circumstances of the case, that the Colonial Secretary of State is a direct speaking personage, and has not been tired of settling great countries, by his attempts respecting Ireland and the West Indies. We proceed to give a brief outline of the principal business of the Lower Canada House of Assembly, but before doing so would supply an omission which occurred in our last notice, and which destroyed the meaning of part of our remarks. Towards the conclusion of our article headed Lower Canada, we mentioned, that Mr. Stanley had given the Legislative Council the benefit of his reproving powers, as well as the House of Assembly, and stated that the Council had addressed his Majesty last session on certain topics. The answer to their address contained the reproof alluded to, and an extract from it should have followed the notice. The extract informed the Council, that they would have consulted their own dignity, by making use of more temperate language respecting the House of Assembly, than that which appeared in the address to his Majesty.

On January 14, the dispatches were alluded to incidentally in the House, and were described by the principal speaker on the occasion, Mr. Bedard, as "the most violent attacks that had been made on the Constitution," and as an invasion of the rights and most sacred privileges of the House. At the conclusion of the debate on the subject, it was ordered

that 400 copies of the message be printed.

On January 17, the House went into committee on a bill to continue a number of Acts which were about to expire. Of these, the Emigrant-Tax Act became the subject of debate. In a former notice we mentioned that the renewal of this act was discouraged in one of the dispatches, and that the Governor-in-Chief was directed, if such a bill passed, to reserve it for the opinion of the Home Government. Mr. Papineau warmly advocated the renewal of the act, and expressed his sentiments respecting the dictation of the message in the following words: "If the act of imposing a tax upon emigrants be omitted, it ought not to be on the grounds of a submission to the order of an arbitrary governor. A law which had so much contributed to the relief of the needy, and was both just and expedient, would be looked for; and it was a most odious attack on the part of the executive against the independence of the House, to dare, as it had done, to interdict the introduction of this or that measure, or dictate what the House should do or not do. The committees of trade, the intrigues of persons who think they are the aristocracy of the country, represent this act under a false light, poison the feelings of the minority, and throw England into the most ridiculous and humiliating contradictions. Compare the dispatches of Lord Goderich with those of the present Minister, in their spirit of haughtiness and imperiousness, and it will hardly be believed, that at two periods so little removed, contradictions so ridiculous could be committed." The speaker commented on *the lying pamphlets which are circulated in Great Britain, for the purpose of inducing emigration*, and concluded by urging the House not to be influenced in their decisions by an arbitrary message. It was ordered that the bill should be brought in separately. The bill was brought in subsequently, and passed the House and the Legislative Council.

On the 18., a question respecting in-

creased sittings of the Inferior Court, was introduced. On this subject Mr. Papineau said: "To wait three months for justice, was in England a matter of absolute necessity, because the judges were travelling on their circuits, and terms must be fixed so as to admit of their presence; this at least had something to recommend it however little. But what could be said in support of our system? Had not the suitor a right to obtain speedy and early justice? Here, however, this absurd distribution of terms, the all-powerful influence of the judges, their tastes for ease, and the accumulation of business, left no hope of real justice. The authorities were the principal sources of this evil. Several bills passed by this House had been rejected, and the hopelessness of seeing them attended to had prevented renewed efforts."

On a subsequent day the House considered the propriety of re-appointing Mr. Viger as agent of the House in Great Britain. This gentleman has been for some time acting in that capacity, and has, it would appear, pleased Mr. Papineau and his party, as much as he has displeased others. On a late occasion Mr. Stanley refused to acknowledge Mr. Viger as an official person, seeing that he represented one branch only of the legislature of the colony. The speaker was warm in support of Mr. Viger's re-appointment, and characterized Mr. Stanley's refusal of recognition in strong language. A bill naming Mr. Viger agent, passed, 43 to 12.

On the 21st the contingent expenses of the House were the subject. This is a sore theme just now, from the Governor's refusing to advance the required sums, and consequent embarrassment. The subject was brought before the House by a report of a committee appointed on the Governor's message, which report advised the House to pass a supply bill for the discharge of various items to the payment of which the House is pledged. Such a bill the majority object to, on points of informality as to time, and on account of former proceedings of the Governor and Council, respecting supply bills.

Mr. Papineau said, "The first consideration that naturally presents itself is, whether the committee making that report was without personal engagements; the hon. Member for the county of Quebec was one of the committee, and he thought it was against the rules of the House and justice that he should be; the House was indebted towards Neilson and Cowan for printing and stationery, and is it not natural to suppose that the fear of losing this debt, the inconvenience they would be subjected to in not having it in time, or the dread of a bankruptcy, may not have had some weight; but whether or not, the higher a man's standing in society, the more esteem he enjoys, the more circumspect he ought to be. . . . The Governor in refusing the advance asked for, thought the House had no means of resisting his injunctions, that he might sport with it, keep it in dependence, hurt it, compel it not to proceed, and involve it still more and more;—was this acting in the interest of the Province or in conformity with his duty? If he wanted no session he had legal means to gain his object, and ought not to resort to cowardly and indirect ones; the committee acted cowardly in not telling him so; the Governor has a right to prorogue and dissolve the House, but not to disgrace it; the representatives of the people, when in the exercise of their legislative functions, are kings—the Governor has no right to control, direct, retard, or annihilate their labour—by prorogation or dissolution alone may he do so. . . . No Governor had acted in the manner Lord Aylmer has; Governor Craig sent some of our most respectable and esteemed citizens to prison, Lord Dalhousie retained a Receiver General after having robbed the province, but Lord Aylmer sees citizens killed in the streets, the perpetrators of which have not been acquitted by a jury, and he screens and applauds them; he avows his distrust in the House, his personal interest and his frivolous fears which are contradicted. He, Lord Aylmer, ought not to force the House to adopt a course derogatory to its cha-

racter. If he wants a Supply Bill, why not tell the House so at once? The Governor when applied to by distressed parishes for relief, relieved that distress in favour of some; he paid 20,000*l.* out of funds raised by three acts which amount but to 16,000*l.*, where are his doubts, where his anxiety? When the House said that no salary more than one shall be paid to persons holding several places, he still pays them, and that on his own responsibility. As regards the rights of this House, it is farther from the enjoyment of them than it was in 1792; then the Council knew it was in money matters not independent of the representatives of the people, it then asked from the House its monies in detail, and if the House now submits to sacrifice its right and those of the people, it will soon be entirely devoured by the Council. The violent man at the head of the British Government, who introduced, supported, and effected measures, to exasperate and rouse the ire of eight millions of souls in a neighbouring kingdom, has gone too far to retract or stand still, he must fall or advance. He sincerely hoped the House would not give the fatal example they were asked to do in submitting to the orders dictated to them by the Governor. None of his predecessors had ever suffered by the pledge of the House; it was a subject involving great principles and fearful consequences, and ought, with the remainder of the subject necessitating the call of the House, to be referred on that day to the same committee; he then should prefer his complaints against the Governor particularly, impeach him, and see whether he was beyond responsibility. The only shelter, consolation, and hope, left the House was the Parliament of Great Britain against the colonial office."

The next subject of importance which appears is the penitentiary system, which was taken up on Feb. 3,—when it was resolved, "That it is expedient that a penitentiary be established in this province, and that two commissioners be sent to the United States, to report on the system." There seemed no dif-

ference of opinion in the House, and very little out of it, on this subject. Prisons, unhappily, are objects of necessity and of extensive importance in large communities. The difference between a mere strong-hold, to keep vicious persons from doing evil, at a great public expense; and one which gives the desired security, reforms the character, and leaves a pecuniary profit to the country, must be very apparent, and well worthy the attention of legislators everywhere.

On the 4., the contingencies were again brought before the House by a petition of one of the witnesses—on the 21. of May affair—asking for the payment of his expenses. This gave an opportunity to Mr. Papineau, which he improved, as he improves all opportunities of late, by an intemperate display of his feelings. We quote a few of his words. "All our committees," said the speaker, "are obliged to go to expenses which they cannot meet, and the insolvency to which we are reduced, shows on the part of the Government, which is the author of it, and which pretends to some system, and claims respect, that it is moved by something monstrous and debasing, or rather there are no words to express the character of an administration so disorganizing, and incapable of doing what it ought to do. But having no instruction, the committee cannot proceed. We have however only to consider that the petitioner is a witness complaining of the governor who approved of the crimes and massacre of the 21. May, and who instead of repressing the brutal force of a furious soldiery, has corrupted the courts of justice, silenced the laws by the soldier, shut the mouths of iniquitous judges, and exposed the profound corruption which follows everything connected with the administration. It was then its fault, if we were obliged to have witnesses."

This language is too bad to be used except under circumstances of great extremity. It appears more like a tirade against an open enemy, than language used by the head of one branch towards the head of another, in a country possessing English institutions." In this

speech the speaker remarked, that in England the contingencies were paid before the passing of a bill of appropriation, and merely on a vote of credit.

On Feb. 10. Mr. Stuart, an opponent of the Papineau party, moved and carried eight resolutions respecting the legislative bodies. The first provided that the legislative and executive powers should not interfere with the due exercise of each other; 2nd, that the independence of the judges should be secured by their exemption from executive functions; 3rd, that the executive council should be free from the control of the legislative council and assembly, as ministerial officers of either; 4th and 5th, that the proper administration of justice, and the confidence of the public require, that the chief justice of the province, the chief justice of the district of Montreal, and the justices of his Majesty's Courts of King's Bench for the several districts of the province, should not sit or vote in the legislative or executive councils of this province, so long as they shall continue to hold their aforesaid respective offices; 6th, that it is expedient that the ministerial officers of the executive council should not sit or vote as members of the legislative council; 7th, that it is expedient that the ministerial officers of the legislative council and of the assembly, should not sit or vote as members of his Majesty's executive council.

On the 14., a bill founded, we suppose, on those resolutions, for securing the dignity and independence of the legislative and executive councils, and of the judicial body, passed. The following day it was resolved, that in the event of the bill sent to the legislative council, appointing the Hon. D. B. Viger, agent for the province, not becoming a law, that Mr. Viger continue for the present year in England to represent to his Majesty's Government the interests and sentiments of the inhabitants of the province, and to support the petitions of both Houses of Parliament.

We are not yet in possession of the proceedings of the important 15. of February, when articles of impeachment were to have been moved against

the governor, but *Neilson's Gazette* of the 17. informs, that 83 resolutions were prepared for that occasion, and gives the substance of several. These, as might be expected, contain very strong words. They dwell on a variety of charges against the council and governor. The following warm language is given as the substance of some which refer particularly to the dispatches. "That more injustice has been done by this than any former administration. That Mr. Stanley has helped to shake the confidence of the country in the English Government; that this House cannot submit to insult, and Mr. Stanley's dispatches are incompatible with its privileges."

In reply to Mr. Stanley's hints to use authority in the settlement of our difficulties, they state "that in twenty years the population of the United States will be equal to that of Great Britain, and that of the present colonies equal to what it was in the late colonies in 1775."

So matters seem to rest at last accounts. The next mail will probably bring us something decisive as to the session, and the legislative branches; that such information will be interesting, and of considerable importance, will be readily granted, when it is considered that Lower Canada is the principal of the British provinces, and the post of the Governor-in-Chief. Mr. Stanley is famous for bearding countries; without attempting to judge between his petulance and his judgment on this occasion, we cannot avoid lamenting that such a wide and almost irreparable breach has been made between the branches of Government. The Assembly majority are, we believe, much to blame in late transactions; whether the Colonial Secretary has acted too much in their own spirit remains to be seen. The Canadian papers, of course, are active on the subject, some lauding and others reprobating the Secretary. In these discussions quite as much invective as argument appear. As an instance of what is advanced we may mention, that a Montreal paper most gravely reminds an opponent of Mr. Stanley, that the

Secretary is "grandson to the Earl of Derby,"—as if that weighed a jot in the affair; another calls the Secretary a new Cromwell, and thus both parties go on making such ridiculous or exaggerated assertions as their feelings dictate, rather careless often, one would think, of their judgments, and of the chief facts of the case.

3,303*l.* have been voted to relieve the distress of the agricultural districts. One member proposed that the amount of the two speakers' salaries, and the members' pay, should be this year given to the poor. The net revenue of the year 1833 is stated at 164,124*l.* Appropriations to the amount of 28,462*l.* have been made this session.

COLONIAL PAPER-MONEY.

HALIFAX.

PUBLIC MEETING.—An adjourned meeting was held on Wednesday last, to receive the report of a committee appointed at a former meeting. The committee, it will be recollected, were appointed to make inquiries respecting the depressed state of the community, and to prepare advice on the subject. The committee's report, and a petition to the House of Assembly, were read, and are as follow:

The committee appointed by the public meeting on the 15. inst. beg to report as follows:

Pursuant to appointment made by the chairman of your committee with the presidents of the two banks, your committee waited upon the managers of both these institutions on the 17. inst., and upon reading to them a copy of the resolution of the public meeting under which your committee were acting, they received from the president of the Bank of Nova Scotia, the replies hereto annexed, marked A.

Q. The committee request information as to the causes of the present restrictions of discount.

A. The accommodation afforded to the public by discounts, so far from being diminished, has been increased during the last two months.

Q. Under what circumstances are the

operations of the Bank designed to be resumed?

A. It is the desire of the directors to continue the same line of conduct as heretofore pursued, and for that purpose they have made a call on the shareholders for a further instalment of twelve and a half per cent.

WILLIAM LAWSON, President.

January, 17, 1834.

From the president of the Halifax Banking Company, your committee received the following answer to the resolutions:

"Reasons restraining discounts at the Halifax Bank.

"The act restraining the issue of notes under 5*l*. The want of punctuality in paying notes due at the Bank.

"The second question, perhaps, can only be answered in a general way, that should the above causes be removed, the Bank will go on to discount in a more enlarged degree."

The president then, in the course of a general conversation which arose after the above answer was communicated, explained, that having been informed that it had been stated at the public meeting that the Halifax Bank had run upon the Bank of Nova Scotia, he felt bound to state that the Nova Scotia Bank had demanded, within the last two months, a larger sum from them than they had obtained from the Nova Scotia Bank; that the reason why the members of the Halifax Bank did not attend the public meeting, was that they considered it more delicate not to interfere in deliberations which might touch the management of their establishment; that they considered the paper they had issued was based upon gold, as they had imported and put into circulation a pound in specie for every pound in paper they had issued, and that in order to enable them to extend as much accommodation as possible to the public, they had recently added 8,000*l*. from their private funds to the banking capital.

Your committee next beg leave to submit a petition to the legislature, upon the state of the currency, which is also hereto annexed, marked B.

As respects the subject of illicit traffic, which has been mentioned, your committee, in common with their fellow-townsmen, regret the injurious extent to which it is carried, and the great injury it occasions to the revenue of the province; but your committee recommend that the correction of this evil be left to the wisdom of the legislature, who it is hoped will devise effectual measures to prevent it.

Your committee would also respectfully suggest that the coins of Great Britain do pass in this province, and be the standard, at their sterling per value. Spanish and American dollars, doubloons, and other foreign coins, to be bought and sold as bullion. The Bank to respond their paper in coins, at the above value.

That until the above standard be enacted by law, the banks ought to respond their paper in doubloons at 4*l*. each, being the rate at which they were current when bank paper was first circulated.

In conclusion, your committee cannot avoid stating it as their decided opinion, that much of the present distress and inconvenience is attributable to the sudden suspension of discounts, for which they have been unable in their investigations to discover any sound or legitimate causes; and they are of opinion that a great portion of the prevailing distress might have been averted, had the banks thought proper to have given some intimation of their intentions. All of which is respectfully submitted.

ANDREW BELCHER,
Chairman.

Halifax, January 21.

PETITION.

To the Honourable, the House of Assembly, of the Province of Nova Scotia.

The Petition of the undersigned Merchants, Traders, Mechanics, and other inhabitants of the town of Halifax.

Humbly sheweth, That the trade of this province is now, and has been for some time past, labouring under severe embarrassment and depression, which

your petitioners have no hesitation in attributing to the debased and depreciated paper currency in general circulation.

As that paper, while it has taken the place of the precious metals, is not exchangeable for them, a very heavy and enormous tax is imposed upon all classes of the people, by the unnatural elevation of the British and foreign exchanges, by the delay, inconvenience, and uncertainty, which attend almost every transaction in business and transfer of property.

Your petitioners might bring before your honourable House, a great variety of circumstances, to illustrate the evils which they feel it their duty to represent, but they consider that when they state there is no longer in this country any standard of value, by which property can be measured, and that the present difficulties therefrom resulting are heightened by the fears and apprehensions which the history of other countries creates, they can add nothing by which the state of the province will be more strongly conveyed to your honourable House.

Your petitioners humbly pray your honourable House, as speedily as possible, to take these evils into your serious consideration, and provide the only safe remedy, by making cash payments compulsory, and thus restoring the currency of a sound and healthy state.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

The report and petition were adopted, and it was resolved, that a copy of the petition be left with each member of the committee for signatures, that it be presented to the legislature, that the committee be requested to take measures for promoting this object, and that they have the power to call another meeting if that step should be deemed advisable.

Mr. James Crosskill moved that the issue of bank notes be confined to 10*l*. notes redeemable in specie. After some conversation the resolution was put and lost. Mr. Hugh Bell called attention to

the duty on flour, which is chiefly levied on the inhabitants of Halifax. It was further resolved that the Members for the town and county of Halifax be requested to take such measures as they may consider necessary to bring the subject of the flour duty under the consideration of the legislature, with a view to obtain its repeal, or an equivalent drawback, if it be found impracticable to alter the imperial act.

(From the Miramichi Gleaner.)

BANKING.—This is a subject which has created a good deal of discussion of late both in the public prints and in the domestic circle. The great difficulty merchants in this place labour under in procuring specie and such paper as will be taken at the public offices, for duties, and the high premium they have to pay for the same, has had a most ruinous effect on the revenue; the falling off this year, owing principally from the above cause in this county, is estimated at 1,000*l*. This is a subject of vital consequence to the province, and well deserving the serious consideration of the legislature, and calls loudly for their immediate interference. From our own knowledge we can state, that several persons who were in the habit of importing, both from the mother country and from Halifax, dutiable articles, have abstained from so doing, owing to the causes above stated.

The principal, we may say our only currency, is Halifax Bank and Nova Scotia provincial paper, which has been subject at all times to a discount of five per cent. at the public offices and then taken as a favour, but within the last six or eight weeks they have refused to take them at the public offices in Fredricton, and many persons who remitted such paper for the payment of timber licenses, in consequence of this refusal, are now experiencing great inconvenience, and must eventually suffer much loss.

In another column will be found a communication on this subject, which points out in a more detailed manner, the evils resulting from the present state of our currency, and calls on the members of this county to use their exertions

to procure a meeting of the inhabitants so that the subject may be fully discussed, when such measures may be adopted as will remedy the existing evil.

STATE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

(From the *Acadian Recorder* of Feb., 1834.)

When the "banking system"—we speak of it in *propria persona*, and not merely in so far as it concerns trade—was adopted, it was the general belief, that it would lead to public prosperity and peace. It has lived but a few years, and behold! its friends are paralyzed by the sights that appear in the commercial horizon. They no longer assure us that it will produce all the necessary objects of speculation—unexampled trade and prosperity—that it will make the country wealthy, its inhabitants independent and happy; but, instead of this they cry—stagnation of business and irretrievable ruin. Even the leading advocates of the system are taking up the cry, and forgetting their first moments of fond credulity, now discover, not only that it is the hour of embarrassment, but that indications are felt of the most desolating distress. And have all the fine-spun speeches resolved themselves into this? Is this the consummation of all the promises that have been held out? Where are the argosies that were to crowd our ports? Where the golden harvest and the crowded granaries, the luxuriant dives and the well-fed menial, the contented husbandman, and all the train of magnificent improvements? The canal—but hush that sound! Gone! gone! "like the baseless fabric of a vision." Agreeing as we must with all upon the existence of deplorable evils, we should have left the case in the hands of our patriotic senators, if those individuals seemed to be arraying their power and energies for the right application of the remedy, the true and efficient means of protection. But, instead, they have only apprized us of its existence by vague and erroneous declamation, and there is no reason to suppose that their counsels will either remove the mischief or impede its march. As to the sources from whence you de-

rive their information upon the subject, there can be no want of them, they abound—and no doubt each man of them has felt, either directly or indirectly, the reality of them, which we must consider the most forcible demonstration that can be given. Do they understand the cause then, or do they not? If they do, why do they not apply the remedy? or, are their hands tied up by the moneyed oligarchy? Proceed we then to lay bare the hidden matter by probing the festering sore to its root.

The people of this country, but town more obviously, have been ever since the golden harvests of the two wars, highly extravagant. We will not goad them in their misery, by dwelling too severely on (it is to be hoped) by-gone follies, nor will we draw invidious comparisons, or harsh inferences from any assignable causes, but extravagant they are, and that far beyond anything that their present condition should either justify or desire, but at the same time we must not suppose that it is from individual expenditure alone that all our difficulties thus arise; it is only one of the drops in the vessel, and if we were to return to the abstemious simplicity of the most pastoral ages, we should still have our political wants and public sufferings. At the same time I cannot suppose, that we are a people and country so blighted before the fair face of heaven, and the bright elements around us, as to stand before them like the cities of the plain, devoted to a sea of overwhelming ruin. This evil is a hydra whose heads are not to be annihilated by one stroke. It will not suit our purpose therefore, to act upon vague generalities; but to accommodate our measures to circumstances, and remove the offending evils respectively and in succession. There are self-evident and important axioms of political economy that must be kept in mind throughout, and it is only a just comprehension and application of their bearing upon *all cases* and *in all points*, that can promise any thing like the desired success. We have been so long accustomed to depend upon external resources, rather than ourselves,

that we hardly know in what way our real strength may be shown. Pampered by the means that have been afforded us by the expenditure of the mother Government, amongst us, in the establishments which she has thought it expedient to keep up, we find ourselves weak and timid like little children who are suddenly left to walk alone, but we must not allow our alarm to deprive us of that use of our natural powers, which alone can support us, and which the good God of nature in his wonderful provision for the interests of his creatures, has pleased that necessity should stimulate and exercise invigorate.

I take it for granted then that the time is come for us to employ our abilities to the utmost to find out where our resources lie; and having found them, to use the same exertion to improve them. The country cannot be prosperous if the individual is not, and the individual's prosperity must depend upon the profits of his capital or his labour, wherever it may be engaged. If either of these must be employed without profit, or at a loss; if labour and capital must be given for inadequate wages and interest, the farmer and merchant are kept in continual distress; and every speculating capitalist in succession will be a bankrupt, and every workman a beggar, and when every wheel of the vehicle is broken, it is sure to come down. If, then, by want of proper policy the farmer is deprived of a remunerating price for his produce, his husbandry cannot be continued, and you deprive his labourers of the means of subsistence; this you effectually do by opening your markets to the cheap productions of a foreign country; admit their corn, provisions, tallow, &c., at prices below those which would be remunerating ones to your agriculturists, and your farmers and husbandry labourers—say more than three-fourths of your population—are subjected to constant loss and suffering. Apply these truths to the shipping interest, which is small, it is true, but allow the American vessels to take our freights, or bring our purchases in their bottoms at a low rate, at this or any future period, and our

shipowners are deprived of their just and lawful rights. In like manner, apply the truths to what we ought to have it in our power to call the manufacturing interest of the country—for we might have looms of our own, and we should wear more than we do of what these might produce. We have temperance societies,—why not homespun societies! Admit into your market foreign and expensive things. Without limit; superfine cloths, lace, silks, gloves, &c. expend all the specie that you have in fine things, that might be employed in the encouragement of native manufactures, and you are withholding from the country what you should endeavour to make its pride and ornament. It has been the policy of the British Cabinet, for what good reasons we shall not have it in our power to discover, to deprive us of our fishing interest, the only one that might claim the title of an export, and make us wealthy. The Americans can catch and cure this article at a rate which defies our competition, particularly in the present state of things, so that we have nothing, comparatively, to expect from this source, until things are otherwise ordered, and Ministers are impressed with a sufficient sense of its importance. Reduced then, as we now are, to constant loss and suffering—bankruptcy prices and famine wages, dissatisfaction, vice, and crime, discover themselves with universal distress. The people rail at the state of affairs, pronounce the laws and institutions faulty, and fill the land with tumult, and, to use the language of a celebrated periodical to which I must confess myself mainly indebted for the reflections; when the people are excited to hatred by this, on the one hand, and continual new legislation on the other, against all established things; it learns to despise the wisdom of past ages, and to reject, as error, whatever bears the stamp of experience; is inspired with contempt of those feelings and usages which humanize man's nature and bind him to his species; man is opposed to man, servants and masters, inferiors and superiors; no longer influenced by precept and example, reli-

gion and morals are derided as bigotry and prejudice ; the loyal and orderly are goaded at length into disaffection by insult and coercion, the feelings and regulations which give being and weal to society are rooted out, and replaced with those which brutalize and destroy it.

A. B.

JACKSON'S LIFE.

AGREEABLY to my promise, I have sent this book to the press, and it will be out next week, to be published at BOLT COURT, and to be had of all booksellers, and the price will be *four shillings*. This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station ; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object ; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book ; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part

of themselves. I have written a PREFACE descriptive of the contents of the book ; and I here below insert the TITLE, the DEDICATION, and the PREFACE.

Life of Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America. Abridged and Compiled by William Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham.

DEDICATION.

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

MY FRIENDS,—Ever since I became acquainted with the nature and extent of the ill-treatment of the people of Ireland, I have availed myself of every opportunity to endeavour to show that I held their persecutors in abhorrence. I now dedicate to you a history of the life of the bravest and greatest man now living in this world, or that ever has lived in this world, as far as my knowledge extends. It has given me pleasure, which I cannot describe, to find that this famous man sprang from poor emigrant Irish parents ; and that he was born in the United States of America two years after the landing of his parents. You will read, with uncommon interest, the clear proof of his having been urged on to perform the wonderful acts of his life, by his recollection of the ill-treatment of his parents in their native land. For more than two hundred years, the laborious Irish people were scourged, because, and only because, they would not apostatize from the religion of their fathers ; and, even unto this day, every effort is made to keep them down, and to represent them as an inferior race of men. It is, therefore, in the name of truth and of justice, that I send this book forth amongst the people of this whole kingdom, to prove to them, that this ill-treated Ireland, this trampled-upon Ireland, has produced the greatest soldier and the greatest statesman, whose name has ever yet appeared upon the records of valour and of wisdom. According to all the laws of all nations, a man, though born in a foreign country, if born of parents natives of another country, is a native of the country to which the parents belong. Thus this famous man is an

Irishman; and, I beseech you to look at his deeds and to applaud that just Providence, which has made him an instrument, though in a manner so indirect, of assisting to avenge the manifold wrongs of ill-treated Ireland.

I am,
your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Bolt Court, 27. March 1834.

PREFACE.

Amongst all the duties which men who meddle with public affairs, and who have any portion of the press at their command, no one is more obligatory upon them than that of endeavouring, by all the means that they have in their power, to do justice to the character and conduct of those, who, during their own time, especially, have rendered eminent services, in the cause of public justice and public liberty; and, amongst all the men who have distinguished themselves in this way, in the present age, I know of no one who can challenge any thing like an equality with him whose life and actions are the subject of the following pages.

There may have been men placed in situations as difficult and as dangerous as those in which he has been placed: there may have been men who have shown courage, fortitude, perseverance, and resolution, equal to those shown by him. This may be: but, at the end of pretty nearly seventy years of observing, of hearing, and of reading, I declare most explicitly, I have never seen, never heard of, and never read of, any man equal to the President in these prime and admirable qualities. These pages trace him from the spade and the plough to the musket carried against invaders, aiming at the destruction of the liberties of his country: from the musket they take him back to his books; then take him to the bar; then place him on the bench; then send him to the senate; afterwards lead us to see him on his farm, from whence, when another invasion of his country took place, they show him quitting his beloved fields, again rushing to meet

hostile foes; and, having delivered his country of those foes, we are led with him back again to his farm, from whence he is again called to take upon him the chief magistracy of a great and opulent and a free country; and that, too, by the unanimous voice of millions of free men.

Thus honoured; thus confided in; thus placed in a more honourable situation than any other man upon the face of the earth, we see him acting a part worthy of his high station. The angry, the bitter, the implacable, the heretofore deemed all-powerful British Government, he had repulsed; he had humbled the savage tribes; the cannibal foes of his country, he had scourged with rods of scorpions; if he had not tamed them into humanity, he had made fear sheathe their hatchets and their scalping knives; but in his capacity of chief magistrate; in his capacity of chief guardian of the civil and political rights, and of the property and lives of his countrymen, he had to deal with a monster more formidable, and more destructive to the people than either the British, or the savages; a monster perfectly insatiable; hypocritical as the crocodile; delusive as the Syren; and deadly as the rattle-snake itself. The monster of paper-money he has now to encounter. This is his last great labour: if this monster fall beneath him, no pen, no tongue, no vehicle of praise, can ever render justice to his name. Some poet has said, that the grandest spectacle that the human mind can conceive is, "a great man struggling with the storms of fate." It is a greater still to see a great man struggling; to see the greatest of men now alive, struggling with the most cruel and destructive monster that ever the Almighty in his just displeasure, permitted to be the scourge of offending nations.

It is with no small delight that I see in the following pages, proofs undeniable of the superiority of nature over art, of genius over rank and over riches; it is with pride, and with just pride, I trust, that I behold all that is great in the character of man springing out of the humble homestead; but it is with

still greater, and with inexpressible delight, that I see it spring from poor **IRISH EMIGRANT PARENTS**, driven from their native land by its inexorable oppressors. Ah! God is just in spite of our ungrateful impatience. No man living ever did so much to humble England as **ANDREW JACKSON**; and these pages will show us how his zeal was sharpened, how his anger was pointed, by the lessons taught him by his ill-treated parents, and by the cruelty and insolence which he had to endure from the same source. Arrogance and injustice, when associated with power, never listen to reason or remonstrance as long as the power lasts. If they were capable of listening, I would bid the oppressors of the poor people of Ireland to read these pages; and to remember that the country which produced **ANDREW JACKSON**, still retains the faculty of giving life to other men.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolt-court, London, 27. March, 1834.

DORSETSHIRE LABOURERS.

To the eternal honour of England, and, indeed of Scotland and Ireland, too, they have been roused from one end to the other by the sentence passed by **WILLIAMS** (the new judge) on the six agricultural labourers in Dorsetshire. There have been meetings at, and pressing petitions sent from, innumerable places throughout the whole kingdom. The working people of the metropolis led the way by a petition from an assemblage of twelve thousand men, which petition I had the honour to be chosen to present to the House of Commons. The next petition came from the town of **OXFORD**, signed by fifteen hundred men in eleven hours; and it was very punctually and zealously presented by **Mr. HUGHES HUGHES**, one of the members for that town. The petition to the King from my constituents of **OLDHAM**, I have duly transmitted to Lord **MELBOURNE**; and I insert it here below. At **BIRMINGHAM** there has been a prodigious meeting on the subject; but, if what the newspapers say be true, his Majesty's Ministers themselves have

signified their intention not to cause this sentence to be carried into execution.

The whole nation has been surprised at the sentence; not one man in the whole community appearing to know that there was any law to punish men for taking oaths, or administering oaths, relative to proceedings merely connected with their own private affairs. It seems that these men have been convicted and sentenced, in virtue of an Act passed in the 37th year of **Geo. III.**, and on the 19. of July, 1797, being chapter 123, of that year of the King's reign. The whole of that act relates to oaths administered or taken for the purpose of seducing persons serving in his Majesty's service by sea and by land. It was passed in consequence of the mutiny in the fleet. The preamble of this act is in these words: "WHEREAS divers wicked and evil-disposed persons have of late attempted to seduce persons serving in his Majesty's forces by sea and land, and others of his Majesty's subjects, from their duty and allegiance to his Majesty, and to incite them to acts of mutiny and sedition, and have endeavoured to give effect to their wicked and traitorous proceedings, by imposing upon the persons whom they have attempted to seduce, the pretended obligation of oaths unlawfully administered." This was the preamble, setting forth the whole of the object of the law; and under this law, which was intended solely to prevent mutiny in the army and navy and conspiracy against his Majesty and his throne, these poor labouring man for combining together for the purpose of getting *better wages*, without the smallest notion of anything political, have been sentenced by this Judge **WILLIAMS**, to seven years' transportation beyond the seas. However, if it be true, that the Ministers have signified their intention not to carry the sentence into effect, it will be of little consequence with regard to the poor men, and as to any other consequence, that is not worth our inquiring into at present.

PUBLIC MEETING AT OLDHAM.

(From the *True Sun* of the 1. April.)

THE DORCHESTER UNIONISTS.

ON Good Friday a public meeting was held in the large room at the Albion-inn, Oldham, "to consider the propriety and necessity of petitioning his Majesty to withdraw the sentence of transportation (passed against the men for attending a Trades' Union meeting) from being carried into effect; and also to be graciously pleased to grant them a free pardon for their inadvertent transgression."

The proceedings excited considerable interest, and the large room at the inn was crowded to excess by an attentive and orderly assembly.

Mr. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, grocer, at Oldham, was unanimously elected chairman, who, after he had introduced the subject matter of discussion, remarked, that it was surprising the Whigs had not before discovered the alarm and dread effected by the taking of the oath of Trades' Unions, which they now professed to say had arisen. If working men associated together by any means from saving a town from the burden of poor-rates, no matter whether they had secret lodges or not, or took oaths, it was all right; but no sooner did they unite to protect wages, their only property; no sooner did they associate to preserve their rights and benefit their trades, than despotism pounced upon them, and subjected them to its galling chains. (Hear). The Whigs soon found that it was unlawful for men to associate together and demand higher wages. One of the men transported had only 5s. per week of wages, and another, with a wife and six children, had but 7s. per week. (Cries of Shame).

Mr. B. HARROP, of Lees, near Oldham, moved—

"That the feelings of this meeting are deeply agonized and indignant at the sentence passed by Baron Williams upon the six men at Dorchester, and therefore resolve, with the utmost speed, to forward a petition to his Majesty, praying him not merely to prevent the execution of the said sentence, but also that he will be graciously pleased to grant them a full and free pardon."

Mr. HARROP observed that it behoved every operative to prove his sympathy towards these unfortunate men, because they were suffering the iron grasp of tyranny. He conceived the conviction of these men was contrary to law. He coincided in the opinion of an old French writer, that the working classes should form a nation apart, and govern themselves. (Hear).

Mr. HALLIDAY, who seconded the motion, said he believed the Ministry had made an example of these men to intimidate the unions. It was the people's duty to study politics; the more they studied them, the more Government would respect them. (Hear, hear). Why should the Government put a tax on newspapers if they did not wish to prevent the

spread of knowledge? (Hear). If these men had understood the law, probably they would not have been convicted. Secret oaths were absurd. He regarded this painful occurrence as a Whig scheme to extinguish liberty. (Hear).

The resolution was unanimously passed.

Mr. MILLS read the memorial to the King, and suggested a plan by which the working classes might amend their condition.

Mr. HIBBERT, of Lees, near Oldham, moved—"That the petition now read be adopted, signed by the Chairman on behalf of this meeting, and forwarded to his Majesty with all possible speed." He was anxious that the petition should have been extensively signed—(hear)—for many there were deeply concerned in this question. Petitions from every lodge in the kingdom ought to deluge Parliament in favour of these poor men—(hear, hear)—for if they were guilty, how many else would be! (Hear).

Mr. GREAVES, in seconding the proposition, deemed the conviction of these poor men a national disgrace. (Hear). He conjured the people to be firmly united, and boldly resist tyranny in every shape. (Cheers). If these unfortunate persons were transported, three millions of others would be. (Applause).

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS stated that Whig coercion in England had been foreseen a year ago. It behoved the working classes to determine upon Mr. Fielden's plan of eight hours' daily work for the present wages. (Hear). He would move—

"That William Cobbett, Esq., one of the representatives of the borough, be requested to forward the same to his Majesty; and also to support any motion which may be made in the honourable House on behalf of the said six suffering men."

The motion was seconded by Mr. Rushton.

Mr. HALLIDAY was persuaded that this act of the Whigs was committed to extinguish political discussion; they were determined to put down the friends of the people. When the Reform Bill was to be passed the people were not only suffered, but exhorted by the Whigs, to refuse paying taxes, and even to appeal to arms, &c.; but now the people were not serving the Whigs. (Applause).

Mr. HARROP suggested the building of a place wherein they could discuss politics.—(Hear).

Mr. GREAVES said it became requisite to banish fear from their unions. (Hear).

The resolution was carried.

Upon the motion of Mr. RUSHTON,

A vote of thanks was unanimously awarded to the *True Sun*, for the honest and accurate relation that Journal had given of this painful occurrence.

The CHAIRMAN recommended the company to open a subscription for the relief of the poor men and their families, who had become victims of Whig despotism. If every member of the Unions gave only a halfpenny each, it

would amount to a large sum. He, for one, would receive subscriptions on their behalf.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman having been carried by acclamation, the assembly separated.

The following is a copy of the petition resolved upon to his Majesty :

"To his most gracious Majesty, William the Fourth, King of Great Britain and Ireland, the petition of a public meeting held at Oldham, on Friday, March 28, 1834,

"Humbly sheweth,

"Your Majesty's petitioners most humbly beg leave to state to your Majesty, that thousands of all serious reflecting manual labourers in your Majesty's dominions are filled with anxiety, alarm, and dread, in the situation in which they feel themselves placed, and at the prospect which lies before them; for after a careful survey of what hath taken place, during the last twenty years, your petitioners are convinced, that a very great proportion of the labourers in your Majesty's dominions have had one-half of their former wages taken from them; and that very great numbers of them have had two-thirds or even three-fourths taken from them; nor are your petitioners aware of any law being in existence to prevent the remainder from being taken away.

"That your petitioners hope your Majesty will permit them humbly to intimate, that as meat and drink are essentially necessary to the life, health, and vigour of labourers, so the price of food and the price of human labour ought, as far as possible, to rise and fall together, and in the same proportion.

"That your petitioners deeply lament the existence of another fact (from whatever cause it may arise) the vast difference in the wages paid to workmen, in different branches of business, a difference amounting, as your petitioners believe, to as much as six to one, although they all have to pay the same price for their food; this fact brings immense privations, and, of course, causes immense discontent to all those who are receiving the lower rates of wages.

"That your petitioners hope that under such circumstances your Majesty will allow that all those whose wages are below the average or mean rate have a fair right, and that it is a duty which they owe to themselves and their families, to endeavour, by all peaceable means, to raise their wages, until they arrive at the medium rate of the wages of the country.

"That your petitioners from many and various statements made in the newspapers, have been impressed with the belief that the agricultural labourers of the country are more uniformly poor, miserable, and degraded than your petitioners themselves; understanding also, that the six persons sentenced to transportation at Dorchester are agricultural la-

bourers, and probably smarting under privations arising from low wages, ignorant too of the existence of the law which they are said to have violated, under all these strong circumstances of mitigation, your petitioners most fervently pray, and ardently hope, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, not merely to prevent their being transported, but also to grant to them your Majesty's full and free pardon, and

"Your petitioners shall ever pray."

ST. PANCRAS VESTRY.

Dr. MOORE, the Vicar, in the Chair.

Mr. NASH begged to introduce to the notice of the vestry a petition to his Majesty, praying for a remission of the sentence passed on six agricultural labourers at Dorchester, for the alleged offence of administering an illegal oath. Mr. Nash commented at some length on the circumstances connected with the conviction, and dwelt with some force on the good character which the unfortunate men bore. He observed that the disproportion of the punishment to the crime, if any had been committed—(hear, hear)—was a subject of the first importance, inasmuch as the men belonged to a class comprising a vast portion of the labouring community. The sentence was one calculated to excite that class; great numbers had already declared that if these men were guilty, they also were guilty. He thought that for the peace of the country, a remission of this cruel and oppressive sentence ought to be acceded to. He then moved that the petition be received.

Mr. WRIGHT seconded the motion.

Mr. LARK agreed with Mr. Nash that the sentence was most unjust.

Mr. DOUGLAS entirely coincided with the mover, and thought if the petition were taken from house to house (if there had been time) that nine-tenths of the parish would have signed it. (Hear).

Mr. ECKETT felt for the individuals, but thought it a matter the vestry could not entertain. (Oh, oh!) His opinion was that the only ground for mitigation of punishment was the ignorance of the men as to the law. He trusted that, without their interference, the case would be taken into the full and impartial consideration of the Government. The vestry ought not to interfere; the men did not reside in the parish, nor did they reside in the county. (Loud expressions of disgust, both in the vestry and behind the bar). Now, he would ask, could they interfere without recognising the use of the unions, and as the unions made their ultimate objects a matter of such profound secrecy, why in assenting to the petition he would perhaps be approving of what he ought to deprecate. He thought it ought to be carried into execution. They might, if they adopted the course before them, take up every question that arose at the Old Bailey as a matter of inquiry. (Loud murmurs).

The disapprobation was so generally expressed that Mr. Eckett hastily quitted the vestry.

Mr. VIGORS, M. P., observed that the gentleman who had just left the board, had spoken of the unfortunate men not residing within one hundred miles of the parish, but in the cause of humanity, if the objects of it were as many thousand miles from them as these honest men were hundreds, were they in Poland, in Africa, or in China, they were called upon to come forward in their behalf. (Much approbation). The question was, that a representation from such a body as this vestry would have great weight with the Government, and he (Mr. Vigors) felt convinced that the voice of the vestry would have weight with the Government.

Mr. SIMMONDS said the vestry knew that the men had been tried by a jury of their countrymen; and they knew that the judges were merciful in their judgments. (Loud laughter, and cries of Oh, oh, in the vestry). He objected to the vestry signing it as a body.

The Rev. Mr. GRANT objected to the entertaining of the petition, as the vestry could not take cognizance of political matters.

Mr. MURPHY should endeavour, in the few observations he had to make, to avoid discussing the question of the Trades' Unions; he did not consider that subject came under their consideration. He begged to inform the vestry, that the accidental circumstance of a person coming into the board-room to obtain signatures to the petition, had induced several gentlemen to exert themselves to obtain the sanction of the vestry to it. A reverend gentleman had said that this was not a proper place for entertaining questions of a political nature; but in ancient times, when people had to complain of their grievances, and had to present a petition expressive of them, it was their custom to assemble with their vicar in vestry for that purpose. (Considerable approbation). He wished to see this excellent right restored to them, and that vestries might truly be the representatives of the people. (Approbation). Besides he recollected they were not without a precedent; the old vestry had granted sixty pounds for an address to his Majesty, when his sacred person had been outraged, now he contended that the sacred liberty of the people had been outraged (great sensation in the vestry, and applause behind the bar,) in the sentence passed on the six unfortunate men, and it was the duty of the vestry to petition his Majesty to prevent the mothers becoming widows, the children becoming orphans, and both becoming a burden on their parishes. His philanthropy was not confined within 100 miles, in a case like the present, were the object a Pole, or an African, he should feel it as if a brother were in question. (Applause). This was a question of feeling, they did not interfere with the Trades' Unions, and as men and as Christians they should endeavour to prevail on his Majesty to extend his mercy to these unfortu-

nate victims. (Hear, hear). He would impress on the vestry that these six unfortunate men were sentenced to seven years' transportation for an alleged offence not at all affecting their moral character, for evidence had been produced in court that they were virtuous men and good fathers, (great sensation), and he should be ashamed if the vestry did not join in the common feeling of the country on this unjust and iniquitous sentence.

The motion for the reception was carried unanimously.

Mr. NASH then moved that it be signed by the chairman, and forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Carried unanimously.

It was understood the rev. Doctor kindly undertook to present the petition himself.

The debate did not conclude till six o'clock in the evening.

LIVERPOOL IMPUDENCE!

Bolt-court, 2. April, 1834.

A LITTLE while ago, in speaking of the county of Suffolk, and in describing all the evidences of productiveness that it exhibited, I said that it contained, on an average, a parish church in every three square miles. A man at LIVERPOOL, a place by no means remarkable for the *diffidence* of its politicians, has written to me a very rude letter, attempting to ridicule the idea of there being one parish church in every *three square miles*. He does not put his name; but his letter is marked by that insolence, which assumes, as a thing taken for granted, that I am wrong, and that he is right; and it concludes with the still greater impudence of advising me to be more cautious in future.

Now, if this conceited fellow had taken the trouble to look into that book which I published for the instruction of ignorant men like him, namely, my *Geographical Dictionary of England and Wales*, he would have found, at page 522, a *Statistical Table of England and Wales*, containing information, which, if it could be crammed into his head, would, perhaps, make him a little more modest in future. In that table, he would have found that Suffolk contains 1,512 square miles, and 510 parishes, which is not three square miles to a parish. He would have found Norfolk with 2,002 square miles, and with 731 parishes: less than three square

miles to a parish. So that this man should not imagine that he has a great deal of sense, because he lives in a great, squandering, speculating, gambling, impudent town.

Many other of the counties are in about the same state with regard to this matter; and, if we reckon *townships* in the north, as being parishes, there are not four square miles to a parish, take England and Wales all through. The matter for this "*statistical table*" was taken from the fullest, most elaborate, and most circumstantial return ever laid before Parliament, and it was laid before it in 1818. This conceited fellow must not imagine that this answer is given *for him*; but it is given lest some decent and modest man should fall into the same error.

WM. COBBETT.

TO MR. COBBETT, M. P.

*Stratton St. Margaret's, near
Swindon, Wiltshire, March 31, 1834.*

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of addressing you again on the state to which the tax-devourers have brought us, and of the approaching revolution which is at hand if some great thing be not set about very quickly that will relieve us farmers and tradesmen, and thereby enable us to employ the labouring people instead of feeding them with sparing and grudging hands, more resembling years of famine than years of plenty; but before I proceed to show you facts on the subject, I will tell you some *good news*, nearly as good news as that which you give us from America: that is, I have heard this day, from good authority, that the Cirencester Tories are moving about the country, under the sanction of a lord's steward, and I suppose the lord himself, with a petition praying for a repeal of the malt-tax, and for poor-laws for the Irish people; and if that be not good news, I am lost to reason; for all but fools must know, that no two measures of the same kind can relieve this country from a convulsive revolution so effectually as the two before-mentioned. Let the few honest

men who are amongst the Tory ranks declare for a real reduction of taxes, and good honest, humane, and just poor-laws for Ireland and Scotland, and the villanous Whigs and political theorists and doctrinaires will soon be hooted out of all respectable society: the dreaded war of opinions and interests might probably swell and heave at a furious rate, but the danger of destroying England as a free nation would be past. I have heard, too, that some bull-frog farmers, tools of the Whig Ministry, have been very busy in getting up petitions to aid the Parliament in incorporating the several parishes into much larger parishes or districts, and to build fresh-planned barracks or poor-houses: but as their movements are only noticed for the ridicule and contempt which they bring on themselves, I will, as I have before stated, show you our state, and the prospects before us, and to do so without falling into any errors of my own, I will state what I believe to be fully correct, from the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* of Thursday last.

"The Poor of Wroughton.—The state of the agricultural poor in this neighbourhood is most alarming. A lamentable change has recently taken place in their moral condition; and to what particular cause to attribute it, otherwise than to the great increase of beer-shops, it would be difficult to determine.

"It having been generally known, that a notice was intended to be given in the parish church on Sunday se'n night, regarding some proposed alteration in the workhouse, and to call a meeting of the paymasters to consider the subject, a great number of the labourers purposely attended, and immediately after the notice was read, every one of them, in the most daring manner, left the church; several of whom lighted their pipes, and actually smoked them on the tombstones in the churchyard! On Sunday last, a still greater number of the poor attended the church. The notice was repeated immediately before the sermon was delivered; and again, every poor

“man, woman, and child, to the number of one hundred and fifty walked out; but observing some strangers in the churchyard they quickly dispersed. A few days since, one of the labourers, for some offence, was handbolting to the constable, for the purpose of being conducted to the gaol. On passing through the village of Wroughton, he went up to Mr. Codrington (a highly respectable gentleman of the parish), and after swearing that immediately he returned from prison, he would burn all his property, he seized Mr. C. by the cravat with his disengaged hand and nearly strangled him. Indeed so determined was the wretch to do him some injury, that the cravat was obliged to be severed with a knife, before Mr. Codrington could be liberated from the fellow's grasp. Another labourer, whose child was burnt to death at Elcombe last week, went to a beer-house soon after the accident had occurred, and on coming out, he met the Rev. Mr. Codrington (the clergyman of the parish of Wroughton), to whom, with great hardihood, he thus addressed himself: *‘I mean to have my child buried in the church. You have had a child buried there, and I have as much right as you have to do so; and I'll be d—d if my child shan't be buried there as well as yours.’*”

And in the succeeding paragraph you will find the following, which will show you at once the feelings of the Wiltshire people concerning large parishes; and it is a notable fact that the Highworth farmers are groaning under the same burden as the Wedhampton farmers are now petitioning to be relieved from, without knowing how to relieve themselves, as the towns-people and the governors of the workhouse appear to do as they like with them.

“At a petty sessions held in Devizes on Tuesday last, before Mr. C. L. Phipps, Mr. Warrenner, Mr. Hughes, Major Olivier, and Mr. Goubbe, a memorial was presented, signed we believe by all the respectable paymasters in the tithing of Wedham-

ton, within the parish of Urchfont, respectfully submitting as follows: *‘That the hardships are very great of our being compelled to contribute to the general rate of the whole parish, and that the parish is altogether much too large, and ought to be made separate FOR THE BETTER MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR; the maintenance of whom, the increase of population, and the consequently rapid advance of poor-rates, the depressed state of agriculture renders not only inconvenient, but insupportable; and the poor-rates being applied to other purposes than those for which they were raised, the poor cannot, from the abuses and maladministration of the poor-laws, have the benefit of the statute of Elizabeth. We therefore crave that of the 13th and 14th C. 2. and humbly pray your worships to take the matter into your consideration, it being our wish to have our tithing of Wedhampton entirely separated, as far as regards the poor, from the entirety of the said parish of Urchfont.’* Mr. Lewis, one of the memorialists, stated that if the system which had for some years been pursued at Urchfont, should be continued much longer, the land in the parish would become useless both to the landlord and the occupier.”

So that you see, my dear sir, that the workhouse-system, as they call it, seems to breed up swarms of idlers, which are of no manner of use to the farmers and tradesmen in the villages, except it be to eat the food which they the workers raise for them; indeed you would be really surprised, if you were to see the swarms of people drawn up together in Highwath town, and out of the several tithings and hamlets which were annexed to it some years since, before the infernal debt and paper-money began to devour us wholesale. An old farmer who resided in the tithing of Marston, and who died last year, violently opposed the joining of Marston to Highwath; but as the farmers of that day had no poor, the thing was done; and now what is the consequence? Why

although Marston land is some of the very best dairy-land in England, there have been four sales of dairy cows within twelve months from this day, and two sold under executions from the Sheriff of the county; and I might say the dairymen's family have been known as dairymen of note for ages back; one was the lord of the manor but a few years since, and the other his own brother.

It is for the want of money in the farmers and tradesmen's pockets which is the cause of so many poor people; for how can they live, if they have no labour except it be by relief or by plunder; but as we do not see the tax-gatherer every day collecting the sixty millions out of us, we attribute our distresses to many causes but the right one, and turn round to screw those who are under us, not daring to say a word to the rich tax-eaters above us; so as good Father O'Callagan said, "Usury begets taxes, taxes beget ruin and distress, distress begets famine and convulsions." But hoping there are good men enough left to save the nation, and that you will live to see us free men instead of slaves,

I remain,

your humble and obedient servant,

JOHN ARKELL.

P.S. Look in the above newspaper, and you will see that the people are altogether by the ears in Farringdon, Berkshire, about the Contract Poor-house system. Really, I think if the Tory people be wise, they will join the Radicals, and stay this Whig revolution, for I know that the partisans of the Whigs have great power in the persons of the Farringdon bankers.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

METIVIER, J. and C. H., Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, clothiers.

BANKRUPTS.

BEECRAFT, E. A., Curzon-street, Mayfair, embroiderer.

DAVIES, J. J., Newbury, Berkshire, upholsterer.

GOLDRING, F., Brighton, builder.

GOOD, D., Surrey-caual-basin, Albany-road, Camberwell, timber-merchant.

JEYES, F. T., Wotton, near Northampton, maltster.

JONES, J., Monythusloyne, Monmouthshire, miller.

MARCH, M., sen., Gosport, Hampshire, wine-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

BROWN, W., Ayr, merchant.

TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

CHILTON, J., Trinity-terrace, Southwark, boarding-house-keeper.

ROHRS, G. W., and F. W. Jacobs, Mark-lane, corn-factors.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

CHANNON, J., Piccadilly, and Park-street, Grosvenor-square, dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BAILEY, G., Rudge, Shropshire, victualler.

BRETTARGH, H., Manchester, hat-manufacturer.

JOSEPH, B. and H., Bristol, jewellers.

ROOKS, C. O., Eagle-wharf, Montague-close, Southwark, coal-merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 31.—

Though the supplies of Wheat have considerably increased since Wednesday, yet the number of samples offering at to-day's market was moderate, which is attributable to some of the bulks from the more distant counties proving large, and others having gone direct into the hands of the millers. The market was thinly attended, which is usual on Easter Monday, but the finer descriptions of Wheat moved off steadily at the prices of this day se'night, while the secondary and inferior qualities continued heavy of disposal. In bonded we heard of no transactions.

Fine Malting Barley realized the rates of this day se'night, say from 29s. to 30s.; fine, 31s. Chevalier qualities find purchasers in the Maltsters at from 32s. to 33s. Distilling samples experienced a very limited sale at former quotations; but for ginding sorts there was little inquiry.

Malt continues dull, but unaltered in price.

The show of Oats was large, particularly of Irish quality, as upwards of 14,000 qrs. have been received since the last market day. The article experienced a slow sale at barely so good prices as last week.

Beans met with little attention, and prices nominally the same.

White Peas dull, and grey and maple in limited request, the quotations remaining unaltered.

The Flour trade continues to rule dull, and 45s. may be taken as the top quotation of the town-made article, though 46s. and 48s. is still nominally quoted. Ships' qualities are being sold at from 34s. to 36s. per sack.

Wheat	45s. to 57s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	22s. to 24s.
— fine	28s. to 30s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	30s. to 31s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	31s. to 37s.
— Tick	26s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 23s.
— Feed	16s. to 19s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 47s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new ...	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	66s. to 76s. per cwt.
— Carlow	50s. to 76s.
— Cork	62s. to 64s.
— Limerick ..	60s. to 62s.
— Waterford ..	50s. to 70s.
— Dublin	50s. to 52s.

SMITHFIELD, March 31.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was, for that of a holiday market, moderately good; its supply of Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, rather limited. Trade was with prime Lamb and Veal, somewhat brisk; with the middling and inferior kinds, as also Beef, Mutton, and Pork, very dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

The Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts; with, perhaps, 200 home-breds, as many Herefords, about fifty Town's-end Cows, as many Irish beasts, a few Staffords, Sussex beasts, &c.

From a moiety to three-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Downs and white-faced crosses; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincoln, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 600, which is considered to be a short supply for an Easter Monday, appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South-Downs, Downish half-breds, new white-faced Leicesters, and Dorsets, with a few small Rylands, Scotch Lambs, &c.

About 1,600 of the Beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots and Norfolk home-breds, the remainder about equal numbers of short-

horns and Devons, with a few Herefords and Welsh runts, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and runts, from Leicester, Lincolnshire, &c.; about 120, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Herefords, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about fifty, chiefly Sussex, with a few Irish beasts, Welsh runts, and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 4.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The prices remain the same as on Monday.

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